

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 TRSE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02

SS-15 USIA-06 BIB-01 IO-13 OMB-01 /073 W

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P R 221745Z JUN 77

FM AMEMBASSY MADRID

TO SECSTATE WAHDC PRIORITY 743

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 1 OF 2 MADRID 4752

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PINT, SP

SUBJECT: ELECTION RESULTS -- PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS

SUMMARY: WHILE THE OFFICIAL ELECTION RESULTS STILL REMAIN TO BE KNOWN, THE OVERALL SHAPE OF THE OUTCOME IS CLEAR ENOUGH TO PERMIT SOME CONCLUSION. ABOVE ALL, THE INEVITABLE RIGHT-LEFT COMPARISONS AND FORMULATIONS, EVEN THOUGH VALID, ARE TOO FACILE AND MISS THE ESSENTIAL LESSON OF THESE ELECTIONS. IT IS NOT THAT THE RIGHT AND LEFT VIRTUALLY TIED, BUT THAT MODERATION, OR WHAT WAS PERCEIVED BY THE VOTER AS MODERATION, WON. THE EXISTENCE OF A SUBSTANTIAL UNCOMMITTED, FUNDAMENTALLY CETRIST VOTE, REFLECTED IN PRE-ELECTION POLLS, WAS CONFIRMED BY ELECTION RESULTS IN WHICH THE ONLY WINNERS-- SUAREZ AND GONZALEZ -- WERE THOSE WHO PERSUASIVELY PORTRAYED

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THEMSELVES AS MODERATE MEN OF THE FUTURE, NOT WITHSTANDING THE VERY REAL IDENTITY CRISIS THAT THE SOCIALISTS MUST NOW UNDERGO AND UPON THE RESOLUTION OF WHICH THEIR FORTUNES WILL IN GOOD MEASURES DEPEND. THAT UNCOMMITTED TERRAIN SHOULD BE THE MAIN BATTLEGROUND OF FUTURE ELECTIONS (AS IT WAS OF THIS ONE) IF MATTERS DO NOT POLARIZE, WHICH REMAINS A DANGER. THE RELATIVELY LOW COMMUNIST VOTE (9PERCENT),

WHICH HAS APPARENTLY ENGENDERED SOME INTERNAL PCE TENSIONS, CONFIRMS SUAREZ' WISDOM IN LEGALIZING THEM AND SEEMS TO HAVE DEFUSED THIS ISSUE. END SUMMARY.

1. ONE WEEK AFTER THE ELECTIONS, THE VOTE COUNT GOES ON, DELAYED BY A VARIETY OF GLITCHES AND NOW NOT EXPECTED TO BE COMPLETED IN ALL ITS FORMALITIES FOR AS MUCH AS ANOTHER WEEK. WE LIST BELOW THE MOST RECENT AVAILABLE NUMBERS, FOLLOWED BY SOME ANALYSIS. THE NUMBERS WILL ALMOST CERTAINLY CHANGE IN ONE OR ANOTHER DETAIL DURING THE FORMAL COUNT AND CHALLENGE PROCESS, BUT NOT ENOUGH TO INVALIDATE THE ANALYSIS.

2 FOR THE CONGRESS, TOTALING 350 SEATS:

	SEATS	PERCENTAGE OF SEATS
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-- UCD ISUAREZ-LED CENTRIST)-----	166	47.4
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-- PSOE (SOCIALIST WORKERS)----	118	33.7
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-- PCE (COMMUNISTS)-----	19	5.4
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-- AP (FRAGA-LED CONSERVATIVE)-----	16	4.5
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-- PDC (CENTER -LEFT CATALAN
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REGIONALISTS)-----	11	3.1
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-- PNV (BASQUE NATIONALISTS) -----	8	2.2
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-- US/PSP (TIERNO-LED SOCIALISTS)--	6	1.7
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-- UC/DCC (CATALAN CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS)-----	2	0.5
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--INDEPENDENTS (BOTH CENTRISTS)-----	2	0.5
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--EUZKADIKO EZKERRA (BASQUE LEFTIST)-----	1	0.2
--	---	-----

--FRENTE DEM. DE IZQ. (SPLINTER LEFTIST)-----	1	0.2
--	---	-----

3. FOR THE SENATE , TOTALING 207 ELECTED MEMBERS:

SEATS

--UCD-----	105
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-- PSOE-----35

-- INDEPENDENTS ----- 13

-- DEMOCRATIC SENATE-----12

-- CATALAN SOCIALISTS-----12

--AUTONOMIST FRONT-----7

-- ALLIANCE OF VOTERS (INDEPENDENT)-----4

-- DEMOCRATIC UNITY-----3

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-- SENATORS FOR DEMOCRACY-----3

-- DEMOCRACY AND CATALUNYA-----2

--AP ----- 2

-- GALICIAN DEMOCRAFT-----2

--REGIONAL SOCIALIST PARTY-----1

-- SOCIALIST UNITY (US/PSP)-----2

-- DEMOCRATIC UNITY FOR THE SENATE -----1

--EUZKADIKO EZKERRA-----1

--INDEPENDENT OF THE CENTER-----1

INDEPENDENT DEMOCRATS OF ALMERIA----- 1

(NOTE : MANY OF THE ABOVE ARE GROUPINGS, MAINLY CENTER-LEFTIST, FORMED FOR THE ELECTION ONLY. COUNTING PSOE CANDIDATES IN SUCH GROUPS, PSOE STRENGTH IN THE SENATE SHOULD EXCEED 60.)

4. BASED ON SLIGHTLY EARLIER FIGURES, WITH 96-12 PERCENT OF VOTES COUNTED, THE POPULAR VOTE PERCENTAGES FOR THE PRINCIPLE NATIONAL PARTIES WERE:

--UCD ----- 33.98 PERCENT

--PSOE-----28.54 PERCENT

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--PCS/PSUC----- 9.17 PERCENT

--AP----- 8.19PERCENT

-- US/PSP-----4.29 PERCENT

5. THE UCD PLURALITY IN THE CONGRESS WAS BUILT WITH STRENGTH IN GALICIA, CASTILLA, THE NON-BASQUE NORTH (EXCEPT ASTURIAS), ARAGON, EXTREMADURA, PARTS OF THE SOUTH, AND THE ISLANDS THE PSOE WON THE POPULAR VOTE IN ASTURIAS, BARCELONA (WITH LOCAL ALLIES), VELENCIA, ALICANTE AND FOUR PROVINCES OF ANDALUCIA (JAEN, MALAGA, SEVILLA AND CADIZ). THE PSOE VICTORIES INCLUDED THE LARGEST CITIES IN SPAIN, EXCEPT BILBAO (WHERE THE BASQUE NATIONALIST PNV LED WITH

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THE PSOE SECOND) AND MADRID (WHERE THE UCD MANAGED A

VERY NARROW PLURALITY, 15,000 VOTES OVER THE PSOE, THEREBY CAPTURING 12 SEATS TO THE PSOE'S 11).

6. THE UCD APPEARS TO HAVE BENEFITED NOT ONLY FROM THE D'HONDT SYSTEM, BUT IN SOME DEGREE FROM ITS STRENGTH IN THE OVER-REPRESENTED SMALL PROVINCES. THE PSOE CAN BE EXPECTED TO CRITICIZE THIS ASPECT. WHILE A DETAILED ANALYSIS WOULD REQUIRE EXTENSIVE CALCULATING, HOWEVER, WE NOTE THAT THE EFFECTS OF THIS OVER-REPRESENTATION SHOULD NOT BE EXAGGERATED. FOR EXAMPLE, IN THE 7 SMALLEST PROVINCES WITH ONLY 3 SEATS EACH, 2 (SORIA AND AVILA) WERE SWEEPED BY THE UCD, AND THE OTHERS GAVE 2 SEATS TO THE UCD AND 1 TO THE PSOE. IF EACH PROVINCE HAD ONLY 1 SEAT, AND THE BALANCE WERE GIVEN TO THE CITIES, THE 2 PARTIES FIGURE TO HAVE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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DIVIDED THE ADDITIONAL CITY SEATS MORE OR LESS EVENLY RESULTING IN LITTLE NET CHANGE. APPROACHING THE MATTER ANOTHER WAY: IF 10 ADDITIONAL SEATS EACH IN BARCELONA AND MADRID WERE DISTRIBUTED TO THE UCD AND PSOE IN THE SAME RATIO AS THE SEATS THEY ACTUALLY WON IN THOSE TWO PROVINCES, THE UCD MARGIN OF SEATS IN THE CONGRESS WOULD BE 45 INSTEAD OF 48.

7. LATEST RESULTS CONFIRM EARLIER OBSERVATIONS (REF: MADRID 4626) THAT REGIONALISM DOES NOT APPEAR TO BE AN IMPORTANT ELECTORAL FACTOR EXCEPT IN CATALUNYA AND THE BASQUE COUNTRY.

-- EVEN IN THE BASQUE PROVINCES, THE PSOE DID ALMOST AS WELL AS THE REGIONALIST PNV OR BETTER IF ONE COUNTS THE HALF-BASQUE PROVINCE OF NAVRRE..

-- PSOE -----9 SEATS

-- PNV -----8

--UCD-----7

--AP----- 1

-- EE (BASQUE LEFTIST)-----1

26 SEATS

-- IN CATALUNYA:

-- PSOE (IN ALLIANCE WITH CATALAN SOCIALISTS)----15 SEATS

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-- PDC (CENTER-LEFT REGIONALIST)-----11 SEATS

-- PSUC (LOCAL PCE BRANCH)----- 9

--UCD----- 9

-- UC/OCC (REGIONAL CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS)-----2

--AP-----1

47 SEATS

(IT APPEARS THAT IN THESE AREAS REGIONALIST STRENGTH WAS DILUTED BY " IMMIGRANTS" FROM OTHER PARTS OF SPAIN, WHO ARE ASSUMED TO HAVE VOTED LARGELY FOR NATIONAL PARTIES.)
8. NATIONWIDE, THE UCD NARROLOWLY OUTPOLLED THE COMBINED SOCIALIST (PSOE/PSP) VOTE. SIMILARLY, THE COMBINED AP/UCD VOTE IS SLIGHTLY HIGHER THAN THAT OF THE OVER ALL LEFT (SPOE/ PSP/PCE). SUCH RIGHT-LEFT FORMULATIONS, HOWEVER, EVEN THOUGHT VALID, ARE TOO FACILE AND MISS THE ESSENTIAL LESSON OF THESE ELECTIONS: IT IS NOT THAT THE RIGHT AND LEFT VIRTUALLY TIED, BUT THAT MODERATION, OR WHAT WAS PERCEIVED AS MODERATION WON.

9. THE SYMMETRY OF THE RIGHT-LEFT NEAR- EQUALITY IS CONTINUED IN THE MORE DETAILED BREAKDOWN: THE FRINGE OF EXTREMISTS ON BOTH SIDES, WITH ONLY SCATTERED HANDFULS OF VOTES: THE DECIDED RIGHT (AP) AND THE DECIDED LDFT (PCE), BOTH SHY OF 10 PERCENT; AND THE BIG BULGE BETWEEN (UCD AND PSOE).

10. TO BE SURE, NEITHER THE UCD MUCH LESS THE PSOE IS ENTIRELY CENTRIST. THE FORMER DOUBTLESS WON MANY MODERATELY

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CONSERVATIVE (NOT REGRESSIVE) VOTES, BY REASON BOTH OF ITS OFFICIAL GOVERNMENT STAMP AND OF THE AP'S CONTENTIOUS AND FRANKLY RPO-FRANCO CAMPAIGN, AND ANY NUMBER OF UCD CANDIDATES, FOR ALL OF THEIR LATTER- DAY PROGRESSIVE POSTURE, ARE ALSO WELL-CONNECTED ESTABLISHMENT FIGURES OF UNCERTAIN COMMITMENT TO EFFECTIVE REFORM. AS FOR THE PSOE, ITS VOTE THIS TIME AROUND CAME BOTH FROM DETERMINED LEFTISTS AND

FROM MIDDLE-ROADERS SEEKING REFORM BUT NOT ADVENTURE.

11. THE CONVICTION THAT THE SPANISH ELECTORATE IS LARGELY CENTRIST WAS CLEARLY SHARED BY PARTY LEADERS THROUGH A LARGE PORTION OF THE SPECTRUM, AND MOST CAMPAIGNS STRESSED MODERATION AND "RESPONSIBILITY". (MANY HERE AGREE THAT AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN THE BIG PSOE VOTE WAS THE MODERATE IMAGE GONZALEZ SUCCEEDED IN CONVEYING.) A CENTRIST TENDENCY WAS ALSO REFLECTED IN THE DATA ON ATTITUDES PROVIDED US PRIVATELY BY THE GOVT'S CHIEF POLL-TAKER (MADRID 4478). THAT IS, BOTH OF THE GROUPS THAT WON BIG DID SO IN PART AS THE OCCUPANTS OF THE CENTER GROUND.

12. THE HIGH NUMBER OF UNDECIDEDS REPORTED BY POLLSTERS UP TO THE ELECTIONS SUGGESTS THAT MUCH OF THE MIDDLE-ROAD VOTE REMAINS FUNDAMENTALLY UNCOMMITTED, A FACTOR WHICH COULD AUGUR WELL FOR FUTURE STABILITY. WHILE BOTH SUAREZ AND GONZALEZ WILL FACE CONSTANT CHALLENGES FROM THEIR OUTER FLANKS, BOTH KNOW THAT TO BE PERCEIVED AS FRANKLY CONSERVATIVE OR FRANKLY RADICAL RISKS LOSING THE UNCOMMITTED ELECTORATE-- AND THE NEXT ELECTION. STABLER

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